

PEACE NEWS

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Other

ARCHBISHOPS please copy

"**L**OVE of one's neighbour is one of the chief Christian virtues; and includes love of one's enemies. Remember this today when all over the world so many voices are asking you to hate your enemies. You must fight to transform the red flame of hatred into the white flame of love for your neighbour."

Thus wrote an Archbishop recently. His nationality? GERMAN.

The writer of these words was the Archbishop of Cologne—which place has been described as the most bombed city in the world—and the pastoral letter in which he wrote them was broadcast to the world by Vatican radio (reported the Evening News, May 20).

THE LONG STEADY PULL

SEVERAL readers have sent suggestions for speeding the tempo of the PN Fund. One in particular suggests a drive like that for Dick Sheppard House.

But my conception of the Fund is that it is essentially a steady and sustained effort to accumulate the financial foundations for a long-term work: the provision of a permanent instrument for the education of society into the necessity and possibility of peace.

Not that the process should be slow: but it should in no way be competitive with the day-to-day needs of the PPU. The long, steady pull rather than the concentrated drive accords best with our purpose.

Contributions since May 10 (a fortnight): £40 15s. 2d. Total to date: £4,472 14s. 3d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Though feeling "diffident about this, partly because I am aware that I have nothing original to say, and partly because many of one's ideas on such a subject can so easily become out-of-date,"

PATRICK FIGGIS presents some points for an Armistice Campaign

IT is right for pacifists to try by good means to work for an armistice, because we believe that the longer the war goes on the worse everything becomes. But we should not, therefore, drop other activities, such as Food Relief and the Indian Freedom Campaign.

The manner and style of our campaign must vary according to circumstances. At the moment it will consist, in most places, of general anti-war and pro-negotiations propaganda; later, it may be right to get signatures supporting a petition with a view to bringing pressure to bear upon the Government in a given situation. So, too, each by-election which is contested requires specific suggestions as to immediately possible armistice proposals.

It is not a question of either an "Armistice Now" or an "Education for Armistice Sometime" Campaign. In practice, both go together; at least, such is my experience in Poplar. And it should be made plain that for pacifists an armistice is simply the first step to be taken in order to get out of the present terrible situation.

Forgiveness of enemies, coupled with offers of help; quite different relationships between peoples; proper sharing of the world's resources; a rediscovery of true religion—all are needed too if world peace is to be secure. An armistice is for us simply the first step in the process of overthrowing Nazism and every other form of evil domination; and in making this plain we show to the public that we are very far from

being just reactionaries with pro-German sympathies.

Armistice Always Relevant

Although in a different way, Armistice propaganda can be just as relevant when our country is proving militarily successful as when it is in military difficulties. Indeed, we can today appeal to finer qualities in people in proposing an armistice than we could during the days of the "blitz."

Because we seem to be in a position of being able to do what we like with Italy and Germany, to ask people to support a policy of offering terms to our enemies rather than that of fighting across Europe to a complete finish, is to appeal to man's innate capacity for pity, kindness, and chivalry, and such qualities are still somewhere to be found in us, despite war.

I believe that we should today offer to talk with Germany if she will retire from the occupied countries and release the remaining Jews. Such terms might not at once be accepted; but their offer would begin to undermine German war morale, and later they might be accepted.

Perhaps because I am more ignorant of the situation in the Far East, but also because I feel that the war there is more the concern of the Americans, Chinese, Indians, and Australians, I consider that at the moment our armistice proposals must be limited to Europe. If the time comes, however, when we are successful with our armistice suggestions here, the whole war situation will have undergone such a change that it may then be possible to include or follow up with a Far-Eastern Armistice too.



Rev. PATRICK FIGGIS

was appointed by the National Council, on Saturday, to be the new

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union

He will not, however, be free to take over until September.

Although sometimes it may appear to be in the interests of the Russians and of our friends in the occupied countries for us to continue fighting until the unconditional surrender point is reached, yet I do not believe that it really can be in the interests of the children or of the generations yet to come.

There seems little likelihood, even today, of Germany's cracking; and the plight of the European peoples is bound to get worse as the fighting continues, both because of the shortage of food and also because German severity is likely to increase as the German position grows worse.

To undermine German war morale with an armistice offer that would spell hope for the people at present under her domination would be of far more practical value if we really are concerned to help these people.

Although some of us feel that Hitler might honour an armistice agreement because there is still something not altogether bad in him, let us remember too, and put this point to the public, that everyone keeps an agreement when it is in his interests to do so, and that the time is approaching when it will be in Hitler's interests to keep reasonable armistice terms.

What War Means

As we seek to persuade people of the desirability of an armistice let us always remember what war means, where already it has led us, where it is bound to continue to lead us; and that at the end every basic world problem is accentuated.

As the war continues an inevitable decline takes place in the world's food situation, in the people's health, in international relationships, in reason, in morality, and in religion; while the youth of the world, the hope of the future, is slaughtered. No good that can possibly come out of a continuation of the war is, in my judgment, equal to the inevitable evil that accompanies it.

Of course, I know that hardly anyone listens to us. It seems as though more suffering must be endured before men will come to their senses. One day, however, the tide of thought may change and our opportunity will come.

Let us, therefore, clarify our own minds; agree if we can upon essentials; be sure that we ourselves are possessed of the spirit that leads to peace; and continue, in season and out of season, with humility, understanding of others, and courage to put our ideas before men in the hope eventually of shortening the war.

Peace News!

HOW about a little peace news for a change? It is of all sorts: most of them highly equivocal. For peace is of many varieties. The only one by negotiation I have found is that mentioned by the Istanbul correspondent of the Express (May 21):

"My Berlin informant heard reference to Hitler's acceptance of the necessity to make a compromise peace with the Soviet, if by the end of the present year Russian military power has not been finally broken."

Something between "unconditional surrender" and a negotiated peace is said to have been lately offered by Italy, says Mr. Cummings (N. Chronicle, May 21).

"The conditions asked for are said to be mainly of a face-saving order. But these are supposed to have been rejected on the ground that there can be no qualification of the implacable principle that surrender must be unconditional."

However, says Mr. Cummings, the attempt to secure terms is being urgently repeated. And he quotes Gayda as publicly asking in the "Giornale d'Italia": "What are the terms Washington and London might be prepared to offer in exchange for unconditional surrender?"

Imposed Peace

IN a third category are the peace-terms which are proposed for imposition on Germany after she has surrendered unconditionally. I have already referred to the fantastic ones proposed by the Tory Committee presided over by Sir John Wardlaw-Milne. As the New Statesman (May 22) justly says: "It includes men who were foremost in pressing for appeasement up to the very outbreak of the war." A good example, incidentally, of the degeneration in the political morality of Toryism,

now falsely so called. From the Lansdowne letter of 1917 to the Wardlaw-Milne document of 1943 is a *descensus Averno*.

M. Benes himself appears to be much more moderate in a New York speech. He does not endorse the foolish "Tory" proposal that East Prussia and the Rhineland (with the Ruhr) should be separated from Germany. And weight is given to M. Benes's moderation by the fact that his speech was made after "the first prolonged conference between Dr. Benes and President Roosevelt" at which "complete identity of views on all matters concerning Czechoslovakia" was confirmed. At a second conference Mr. Churchill was present (Telegraph, May 20).

The New Statesman bluntly accuses the Tory Committee of hoping "to dominate German business and industry after the war" with results "not so very different from those envisaged in the Nazi-British Big Business Agreement of 1939." If this be true, those pacifists who are inclined to suspect that Big Business is interested in a compromise peace with Hitler are out of date.

Detaching Italy

TO return to Italy. "It is generally believed," says the Catholic Herald (May 21), "that President Roosevelt strongly favours the detaching of Italy from the war." There are good domestic reasons for this attitude, in addition to general expediency. The Italians are a strong national group in USA, and the Catholics a strong religious force. Hence the semi-diplomatic activities of Mgr. Spellman. No doubt the

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

President would be only too pleased to avoid bombing Rome, which is now being explicitly advocated as the coup de grâce to Italy.

"My own conviction is that the bombing of Rome would be decisive. In recent weeks hundreds of thousands of Italian citizens have fled to Rome from bombed cities in the belief that the Capital is sacrosanct. A devastating air attack on the numerous military objectives in Rome itself would be accepted by all Italy as finally symbolic of utter and irretrievable disaster" (A. J. Cummings, N. Chronicle, May 21).

Apparently the Allies will soon be in a position to do this. It is reported that in the Mediterranean area, in the four days ending May 22, 304 enemy aeroplanes were destroyed while the Allies lost 17. "Our aim seems to be the actual extirpation of the Italian air-force." (Sunday Times, May 23.)

Anglo-American Plans

SOMETHING of the kind was indicated in Mr. Churchill's speech to Congress, when he said that there was no harm in trying whether air-power alone might not win a decisive victory. The American interpretation of the speech (e.g. by the N.Y. Times editorial) is that an immediate invasion of Europe is not contemplated.

"He left the inference that for the present the main Anglo-American contribution might be made on the sea, in combating the U-boat, and from the air in blasting Germany's war-industries. In part this reticence is, of course, a matter of military secrecy. But Mr. Churchill also suggested another reason—namely, the lack of close and continuing consultations between Russia and the rest of the United Nations" (quoted by The Times, May 21).

One step towards closing the breach between Russia and the rest is the liquidation of the Comintern; of which

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Food & World Government

IT is noteworthy that President Roosevelt, who is the democratic politician par excellence, has deliberately taken an extremely unpopular step by excluding the press from the Food Conferences at Bermuda. The American newspapers accuse the President of trying to establish a precedent for the exclusion of the press from the peace-conferences that will come one day. Whether or not that is his aim, the fact is that the Food Conference is a sort of preliminary peace-conference. Its business is, not to settle indeed, but to "explore" what the future world-order may be.

"This," says The Times (May 17) "is the first formal conference of the Grand Alliance. It deals not at all with relief, but with world-wide production and consumption as they confer or deny that freedom from want of which the Atlantic Charter speaks." That sounds inspiring, but vague. It is ominous too that the head of the British delegation on a matter so important should be a mere Under-Secretary. Mr. Richard Law himself does not increase confidence by saying:

"Unless we are able to impress on the minds of our respective peoples the plain fact that freedom from want, that adequate standards of food and nutrition, depend fundamentally on expanding world-trade and upon the fullest possible degree of steady employment, the Food Conference will have failed in its job."

There speaks a muddled brain. The blessed word "trade" needs defining. Without such definition, there is no knowing whether Mr. Law's statement is sense or nonsense. But since he did not see the need of definition, we must conclude that it is nonsense.

The basic fact, of which the American public is naturally more aware than the British, is that North America produces vast surpluses of food. The idea has come to America that the proper use of these food surpluses is to increase the standard of living in the East. Behind the idea is a typical combination of idealism and business. If it could be done, it would solve the eternal economic and political problem of America: the absence of markets for its food-production. How can it be done?

By Lend-Lease? But Lend-Lease is not "trade." As Mr. Walter Elliott very sensibly says in the Observer (May 16): "It is necessary to grasp the fact that such a process is not trading, has nothing to do with trade, and in some ways is destructive of trade." Either Mr. Law has not grasped it at all, or he is saying to the Americans that Lend-Lease will not do, because it is destructive of "trade."

It is certainly very doubtful whether Lend-Lease will do: but not for that reason. First, because Lend-Lease is giving things away on a prodigious scale. It is doubtful whether a democracy will stand for that for long except in time of war. If it will do so in time of peace, so much the better: democracy has made a moral advance.

The second obstacle is of a different kind. The gifts of Lend-Lease can be safely received only by a highly organized society which possesses all the elaborate apparatus of just distribution. Without that, it becomes mainly a means for untold graft and corruption, as it is already in the Middle East. The gifts to the miserable people find their way into the coffers of the extortioners and black-marketeers. The poverty-stricken peasant is not better, but worse off. The corrupt officials live in luxury.

Either America will have to undertake to administer the Far East, in much more elaborate detail than Britain now administers India; for the Indian Government is impotent to check the ravages of the extortioners; or it will be in the position of buttressing a new tyranny in no way preferable to that of the Japanese. That is the crux. Has America anything to offer the East better than a new and more responsible imperialism? If the Food Conference gets down to brass tacks, it has to plan the responsible government of the world. The choice of Mr. Law shows either that the British Government does not understand that at all, or that it understands it only too well. An Under-Secretary may well be the measure of the part Britain can hope to play.

OWLGLASS puts the History of War in a Nutshell

THE time has come to settle the question—What is Barbarity? At the moment of writing the outstanding example of Axis barbarity is the recent execution of the American airmen prisoners who bombed Tokio. The Germans have also threatened to adopt a similar form of retaliation if Allied raids on civilians do not cease.

The question arises—Why should prisoners receive greater immunity than non-combatants, even when the latter are defenceless? In other words, why is it civilized to kill women and children with a bomb, but barbaric to kill with a bullet the men who did it?

The reason is not immediately apparent. An imaginary survey of any day's total casualties—military and civilian, male and female—leads rather to confusion than to clarity, for they all appear to have experienced the same sort of physical discomfort.

On a purely anatomical examination, therefore, it would be impossible to say which of them died barbarically and which had the benefit of a civilized liquidation.

The question must therefore be decided in the abstract.

IN an article entitled "Barbarity," the Sunday Times, apropos the Japanese outrage, says: "In wars between civilized peoples there has always been a point at which slaughter has been stayed."

True; but who or what decides that point?

A glance at history shows that the point is never in the same place for two wars running. What is barbaric

in one war is found to be civilized in the next.

Historical students among you will have observed that most new and improved methods of killing have been condemned as barbaric when first employed.

In ancient Greece, Plutarch quoted contemporary protests against the use of the catapult, as putting an end to valour and fair fighting. Before that, historians tell me, the Persians objected to the Greek's use of the phalanx as a dirty trick.

In the Middle Ages, Church and laity alike protested against the use of gunpowder as unworthy of civilized warfare. Yet one after another all these things, which began by being condemned as barbaric, ended by being included in the rules of civilized warfare.

So that whereas at the beginning of the last war the bombing of towns was condemned as an atrocity, we now find it advocated as one of the chief civilization-savers.

THE explanation of this phenomenon is simple. However the rules may change from one war to another, there is just one rule that remains permanent—namely, that whatever your enemy does, sooner or later you must imitate him if it is necessary to victory.

It is this rule that decides all the others. For while only one side is committing a new form of unpleasantness, it is an atrocity. As soon as both sides are doing it, it becomes a rule of war.

Thus, the history of war is a story of the successive elevation of atrocities to the status of accepted rules.

COMMENTARY

more anon, in a more revealing context. Some light is thrown on the length and seriousness of the discussion in America by the Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Times, who speaks of

"a growing belief that the British, whose spokesman is Mr. Churchill, will meet very strong dissent in the War and Navy Departments here, particularly the latter, if they oppose the far heavier accent on the war in the Pacific now that Africa has been cleared of the Axis (Telegraph, May 20).

Second Front Bluff

THUS the evidence points towards the continental Second Front not being attempted yet; but to the utmost intensification of the air war, to which the breaching of the Mohne and Eder dams has given a spectacular fillip. Now hardly a voice is heard in protest against the indiscriminate devastation involved. In a little while even the stirrings of moral dubiety will not be felt.

As for that Second Front, to my naive mind it would appear a good thing from the Allied military point of view—possibly saving many human lives—if the Germans could be kept guessing. They would then hardly be able to risk everything in a great thrust against Russia. To get themselves deeply engaged with the Russian army and then have to face an invasion of the Continent would be a good deal less than Heaven for the German High Command.

France's Need

M. Pierre Mailland, whose imaginative attitude towards his own great and wounded country I have commended before, writes wisely in the N. Chronicle (May 24) that the condition of France is such that she cannot stand political bickering now.

"What France has always needed when her body suffered was an ideal. The past offers none. . . . The best service that the Allies can render to France is to refrain from burdening her in advance with slogans, insignia, or badges of various descriptions and, in general, with politics. The burden is heavy enough as it is now, and the only effect of such practices on a weary but spirited country would be to create a form of discouragement akin to nihilism."

That rings true to me. If politics is to be imposed on France, then Laval wins. At the level of politics he is the best that can be done. But I believe, with M. Mailland, that the suffering soul of France is beyond politics; and in the re-born France politics too will be re-born.

Human Beings and States

AS I walked to the office, a bus stopped in front of me. The conductress, with infinite care, helped a blind man to the pavement. He began to tap his way along. I thought: What tenderness in her action! What a well-spring of loving-kindness towards the afflicted exists in the "one human heart"! Yet it is utterly unavailing to prevent war from beginning, or to stop it when begun. Tenderness to the casualties of war, but to war itself acquiescence.

How, I asked myself for the thousandth time, are we to bridge the gulf which yawns between the experience of the individual human

Continued from page 1

soul and the conduct of the inhuman national State? Can the State ever be humanized? Is not the only hope to work definitely and deliberately not for a new and still stronger State—in the name of some great abstraction like Socialism—but for the gradual, piecemeal abolition of the State: till the normal unit of society is one in which its members can really control its actions. It is not for nothing that small States are invariably the most peaceful in the Western world; and Eastern societies which have practically no State at all, more peaceful still.

States and War

THAT doctrine, I know, is fundamentally anarchism; and were not the anarchists rather extravagant, and averse to the patient method of trying to create social units which have no need of the State, I suppose I should be with them. I am not. But I do believe that, in this matter of the State, they are right. The growth of the national State—whether it be labelled Socialist, Fascist, National Socialist, Communist, or merely Democratic—means the growth of war. We are told that Soviet Russia now is the Red Army.

"Even members of the Politburo have been given high rank as generals in the Red Army. These men represent the most outstanding form of practical communism—in Russia. And large sections of Russian industry are actually placed under direct control of the Red Army itself. This highly communized Red Army—is Soviet Russia" (Negley Farson: Mail, May 24).

There is the peril. The development of the modern State into the modern Army is inevitable. And I think that unless pacifists understand that their positive function is to discover and create an alternative organization of society—diametrically opposed to State-Socialism—they will, without knowing it, sell the pass.

Freeing The Communists

NATURALLY, the abolition of the Comintern accompanies this identification of Soviet Russia with the Red Army. The choice was between the organic growth of the Comintern and the militarization of all Russia. But those people are very short-sighted who see in the abolition of the Comintern the removal of an obstacle to good relations between Soviet Russia and Britain and America. They are, as usual, twenty years behind the times.

The fact that Russia has become a huge National Socialist State, embracing one-sixth of the world, is not the less formidable because it corresponds with Mr. Churchill's idea of what Russia ought to be. The abolition of the Comintern means only that the Communists all over the world will be free to become National Socialists. A not inconsiderable force is set free to mislead the ignorant in what remains of the free society everywhere into idolatry of the militarized totalitarian State.

"Witnesses" Right Upheld

BY a majority decision (5 to 4) the US Supreme Court has disallowed city ordinances forbidding Jehovah's Witnesses the right to peddle their literature without a licence. Justice Douglas, in the majority judgment, said:

Just as any family may rise by commercial enterprise from vulgarity to gentility, so may any atrocity rise by military necessity from barbarity to civilization.

Just as many of our nobility started as social outcasts, so many of our most honoured and acceptable methods of warfare started as taboos.

But whereas it is said to take three generations to make a gentleman, an atrocity may become respectable in a week.

★
THERE is, however, one important point to remember. In peace-time affairs, the rule is that when a virtuous man imitates a sinful man, he reduces his virtue-content and becomes himself sinful.

In war-time this rule is reversed. In war, when the virtuous side is obliged to adopt the enemy's barbarity, it does not become barbaric. It is the barbarity that becomes civilized.

By imitating the enemy we do not sink to his level; we raise him to ours. This is a bit of luck for the enemy. His sins automatically become virtues.

The cardinal rule for a virtuous nation to observe, therefore, if it wishes to remain civilized, is this: Never start anything. Let the other side do it first.

A final word of advice: Such are the fortunes of war that at any moment you may find yourself obliged to advocate as a military necessity what you have just been denouncing as an atrocity.

Therefore, when you wish to dilate upon the enemy's barbarity, keep to the spoken word. Don't put anything in writing.

JOHN BARCLAY

The following resolution, was passed by the National Council of the PPU on Saturday:

"The National Council urges the Peace News Directors to consider most earnestly, in full consultation with those chiefly concerned, whether there is some position in which the services of John Barclay ought to be used for the good of the movement."

PEACE AIMS PAMPHLETS

The National Peace Council (144 Southampton Row, W.C.1) has published three additions to its series of Peace Aims Pamphlets.

In No. 17, "Towards a World Order" (1s. 1½d. post free), Senor S. de Madariaga, Mr. Lionel Curtis, M. P. H. Spaak (the Belgian Foreign Minister), Prof. A. L. Goodhart, Prof. V. Minorsky, Mr. R. W. G. Mackay and Dr. N. Gangulee examine the political aspects of reconstruction and the special responsibilities of the British Commonwealth, the USSR, India, etc., in the post-war world.

In No. 18, "When the Fighting Stops" (5d. post free), Mr. G. D. H. Cole discusses the political and economic problems of the immediate after-war period; and in No. 20, "The Future of Germany" (10d. post free), Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. P. Gordon Walker, Colonel T. H. Minshall, Prof. H. G. Wood, and the Rev. Henry Carter consider the spiritual, political, and economic problems involved in bringing Germany into a system of peaceful international co-operation.

A Youth Service A.B.C. Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Sq., London, W.C.1) 6d.—This handbook opens with a statement by the chairman of the For Youth Committee giving some useful advice to members on how they can play their part in the service of youth. It will also be of value to a wider public, for it lists the principal voluntary youth organizations (with relevant information) and some useful addresses; and two-thirds of the space contains a comprehensive bibliography, divided into appropriate sections.

The Christian Century (of Chicago) has reported E. Stanley Jones as having "carried his battle for a free India" to the Chicago Rotary Club, "declaring that the United Nations, regardless of whatever else they were doing, were losing the East minute by minute. 'Whatever the outcome of this war,' he said, 'we would have to fight another war in 25 years if the Atlantic Charter was not extended to the world.' He characterized the speech in which Mr. Winston Churchill declared that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India as 'the most costly made in this decade, if not in this century.'"

"Plainly a community may not suppress, nor the State tax, the dissemination of views which are annoying, unpopular, or distasteful. If that device were ever sanctioned, there would have been forged a ready instrument for the suppression of the faith which any minority cherishes, but which does not happen to be in favour. That would be a complete repudiation of the philosophy of the Bill of Rights."

JOHN MORLEY states a

Case for the "Absolutist"

The recent article "Peace and the Policeman" by JMM makes very interesting reading, but it demonstrates his obvious aloofness from the thought of the "absolutist" CO; it probably explains why we see so little argument for the absolutist amid so many apologies for the "exemptionist." Surely the case for the absolutist deserves some publicity in view of the fact that our union is based upon the Peace Pledge.

FORTUNATELY for the pacifist movement there are still many "die-hards" within it, and they clearly see that the vast majority of COs in this war are not "absolutists" and they deeply deplore this fact.

The reason for this is that even before the introduction of conscription, and ever since, the potential absolutist has been doped and duped by the casuistry and sophistry of elderly writers and speakers who are looked on as leaders of pacifist thought.

These persons, not being liable to the operation of conscription themselves, are therefore inclined to advise others to adopt a more cautious course than that which they themselves would probably have taken had they personally been involved, and the line of least resistance is very attractive when backed up by the advice and authority of "leaders." The ingenious device adopted is to suggest that the words of the peace pledge should not be taken as meaning exactly what they say, but should be interpreted by one's "conscience" to mean precisely what one feels inclined to do.

Courage of Conviction

The predominance of "absolutists" in the last war was due to the fact that the organization of COs was undertaken, in the main, by those vitally affected by the Conscription Act. Consequently, their advice to each other was much more vigorous and courageous, because it was based upon the action they would themselves take.

The suggested change in the social context has only been altered in one direction. This war is slightly more totalitarian than the last, in that it includes women within the sphere of compulsion. There has been no change in the other direction, for the legitimacy of conscientious objection was as much recognised during the last war as it is in this.

The first Conscription Act contained a conscience clause. It follows, therefore, that any moral consequences which are attributed to the legal no-difference must be merely imaginary. As a matter of fact, there is practically no difference whatever between the position of the CO during the last war and this, except in the provision made under Sec: (7), National Service Act, 1939, which gives "the Minister" power to register a person on the COs' register.

This should have made a considerable difference to the position of the "absolutist" in this war, but as the section is often ignored or inadequately observed, there is no difference at all in practice beyond a slight delay.

Privilege of Conscience

It is undoubtedly true that the "exemptionist" COs, both absolute and conditional, are placed in a position of privilege under the terms of the Act, and consequently their consciences must constantly trouble them until they can feel that they are making some adequate return to society for the privilege they enjoy by virtue of the Conscription Act.

Consequently, we find many "exemptionists" are at pains to square their action in assisting the operations of conscription, and a Government at war, with their moral objection to war and conscription.

This must be a great mental strain upon them; it probably accounts for the state of neurosis into which many of them have fallen. Such men, you say, are drawn (or should it not be dragged?) to such "creative" work as the FAU, the PSU, ARP, Civil De-

fence and the Non-Combatant Corps, where they suffer a purgatory which must be much more severe than the purgatory of the serving soldier.

For they are sensitive souls seared by their compromising attitude to the Peace Pledge while still avowing their adherence to it. Whereas the serving soldier is either convinced he is doing his duty, or is so mentally sluggish that he suffers no torment of mind at all.

This same purgatory is suffered by many of those who attempt experimental methods of living, by segregating themselves from society to try and find new social foundations, not only within a capitalist economy, but by "conforming to the requirements of the Ministry of Labour." These two conditions must make abortive any such attempts to establish new foundations for they are formed on the very basis of present society, that is Capitalism and Servitude.

No Compromise

On the other hand, we have the "Absolutist" COs who set out with a specific moral objection, not only to war, but also to conscription, the essential concomitant of all modern wars.

They are faced with the fact of the NSA with all its provisions for escape, and the same choice is offered them as Rome offered the early Christians:

just drop a pinch of incense on the Altar of Caesar, and you will be free to preach the Gospel you profess.

The NSA says: first recognize the Government's right to conscript the lives of men, surrender your own liberty of choice on such a vital issue to the arbitrary decision of a tribunal of prejudiced persons, and you may be allowed to resume a form of liberty in which you may preach your pacifism.

Many men adopt the same "negative" attitude as did the early Christians and refuse to sanction the claim of the Government to compel them to assist to wage war or work conscription, for even such tacit approval would be felt to be a violation of their deepest convictions.

Neither will their conscience allow them to plead for any privileged position for themselves. They prefer rather to associate themselves with the mass of humanity in the common bondage of conscription, and thus become truly conscientious objectors and not merely conscientious with an object. For none can accuse the absolutist of using his conscience to obtain personal privilege.

They further desire to demonstrate to a world in bondage how easily their apparently unbreakable bonds can effectively be broken by non-violent non-co-operation with the immoral designs of a Government at war.

They fully realise that it is not only war itself but the deep rooted causes of assertiveness and acquisitiveness, so characteristic of capitalist exploitation, that must be removed, and they attempt to demonstrate by their actions how these evils may be destroyed and so make possible a

world in which war is impossible.

If this can truly be said to be acting "within the sphere of the negative" then this phrase becomes as meaningless as the terms "neutral" and "positive" spheres which followed in the other article.

For it was only the positive and uncompromising attitude of the "absolutist" in the last war which had any lasting effect upon the public and the Government. The "exemptionist" of the last war was quickly relegated to the limbo of lost memories.

Just as among the early Christians, only those who preferred death to compromise are remembered, so the compromising pacifist will be equally unknown to history. They are at present almost indistinguishable from other war supporters in Civil Defence and so on. As Roy Walker once remarked, "A cup of tea offered by a member of the PSU has no more virtue than one offered by an ARP Warden."

The "absolutists" do not need constantly to be apologizing to themselves or society for their existence, for they are deeply conscious that they are engaged upon a moral crusade, upon the success of which the whole future of civilization depends. That is, the destruction of conscription and militarism.

If society persecutes them for their pains, then they know that by so doing society condemns itself and all those who assist or connive at such persecution. To apologize, therefore, would be a sin against their faith in pacifism.

If such persecution should finally land them in prison they still feel that they must act in the same spirit as St. Paul did (Acts. 16) and they refuse to appeal to Tribunals lest they become a party to being "thrust out privily."

They contend that society should be brought up against the immoral consequences of an immoral Act, the only atonement for which would be an unconditional discharge from prison and the withdrawal of the Conscription Act.

To such a "negative" end have the "absolutists" dedicated themselves. They claim that such an attitude as they adopt is much more likely to destroy the power of these twin evils, conscription and war, than that adopted by the "exemptionists" and compromisers, and until a better way presents itself they will adhere to their "die-hard" attitude until both these evils are destroyed.

Inspired by May Day, JOHN SCANLON writes about

DEMOCRACY

MAY Day, it may be remembered, was the day on which we walked in procession to a park or green where our leaders always preached from the text: *Workers of the World Unite. The text had been invented by Karl Marx, a German Socialist, and later M. Lenin made it popular throughout the world.*

On May Day, 1943, the text has been amended by the disciples of Lenin. It now reads: *Workers of the United Nations unite to fight the workers of the other nations. That, too, may have to be amended because the leaders of one of the United Nations are now Poles apart.*

One cannot mention the Poles without being reminded of Democracy, because the Poles, although not Democratic to the same high degree as ourselves, were still one of the last bulwarks of Democracy in Europe. Thus it happened in September, 1939, when we went to war to fight for Democracy, we also went to fight for the Poles.

But let it be said we did so on the very highest recommendations. Mr. Hannen Swaffer had been sent out specially by the Daily Herald to report on their power to stand up for Democracy. As a result of that visit we learned that if ever two men could be honestly recommended to take their stand for Democracy they were Col. Beck and Mr. Smigly-Ridz. With a loan of £10 millions from Mr. Chamberlain and the recommendation of Mr. Hannen Swaffer the world seemed safe for Democracy.

LENIN OUTMODDED

In addition to Mr. Swaffer, the Russian Socialist leader, Lenin, had addressed May Day meetings from time to time. But never once in all his speeches or his writings do we find him saying the Polish workers are nice people, the German workers are butcher birds.

Lenin is, of course, completely outmoded. Even when nice workers were killing not-nice workers for small nations, Lenin had not the flexibility of mind to adapt himself to the change. He went on preaching: "Workers of the World Unite."

He had the quaintest ideas on the last war for small nations. I will quote one of the things he said:

"In Europe a war is going on for world supremacy. For world supremacy two things are needed: dollars and banks. We have the dollars; we will create the banks and rule the world." This is what a leading newspaper of the American billionaires said.

"I must say that this cynical American phrase, uttered by a swell-headed and arrogant billionaire, contains a thousand times more truth than the thousands of articles written by bourgeois liars who claim that this war is a war for some sort of national interests, national problems, and other obvious lies of the same sort."

But, as I have said, Lenin is completely outmoded on May Day, 1943. The war in Europe today is a War for Democracy. And it behoves all of us to understand what Democracy really means, just in case we may adopt it one day.

AN EXPERT VIEW

For a clear understanding on this we cannot do better than turn to The Times. That newspaper has given much space and even thought to this latest challenge to democracy. And the thing is made more difficult because the paper has not yet been able to make up its mind which is threatening Democracy—the Democracy of Russia or the Democracy of Poland.

One writer, however, is able to speak with certainty. It is the correspondent who is now in Moscow. This is very fortunate, because it is only as recently as 1940 that The Times has recognized Russia, and it would be unfortunate if, after all the expense, it had to withhold official recognition once again.

Naturally The Times correspondent is not expressing his own views. Times correspondents never do. They read trends, and if they read them in the right way the Left does not complain. According to The Times, what good Poles in Moscow are thinking is this:

"What Moscow hopes for is a new state of affairs in which the aspirations of Polish patriots, both within and beyond Hitler's reach, will be directed by leaders of a true democratic stamp, who interpret their mandate as the prosecution of the war with the utmost energy

in closest collaboration with their British, American, and Russian allies."

With perhaps the notable exception of Lenin and the Old Guard of Bolshevism, no Communist would complain about that. A leader of the true Democratic stamp, we see, is one who will fight for all the things which Lenin denounced.

What the Allies are fighting for, as we know, are the Four Freedoms, chief of which, I think, is freedom of thought and expression. Without that man might as well have no soul.

To ensure that there should be no fear of his losing his soul, freedom of expression has been redefined. According to the Moscow correspondent of The Times:

"There can be little doubt that the Soviet Government is prepared to recognize only a Polish Government which, once and for all, silences expression of opinion considered to be prejudicial to Russia's present and future interests."

Now we know where we are. We are fighting for Democracy and freedom of expression and anybody who doesn't agree with that gets silenced.

"UNREPRESENTATIVE"

The transition to the next stage becomes easy after that. The Polish leaders, who do not like being silenced, are in the same position as Hitler—they do not represent their people. Nobody represents their people unless they agree to fight with the Allies—and agree to be silent.

The British Democracy, fortunately, knows all there is to know about Russia and about Poland. Russia is a country which murders priests and rapes nuns, until it decides to fight for the Allies. Poland is a puppet State set up by the Allies to crush poor Germany, and also a cultured nation with traditions of freedom dating back centuries.

One middleclass lady with a family, and a vote on these matters, was greatly disturbed last week. A headline announced "Moscow attack on Sikorski." She took that as meaning war. She thought Sikorski was a Polish town.

And so, on May Day 1943, the work started by Marx and carried on by Lenin still continues with the same vigour, but not in the same direction.

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INTEGRITY is the word

— and it means more than mere honesty in personal character

I WANTED to achieve an integration of all things but had not yet come to see that man was not only not integrated in himself but was not integrated with the world he lived in! Thus Eric Gill brought home to me the meaning of integrity

— writes **FRANK DAWTRY** —

Travelling in a railway train I thought of it again, for the train seemed to give me the example I wanted. The train was going on whether I willed it or not; it was going where I wanted to be and so I went as part of it: I was integrated with the train.

If we are good travellers, we undertake our journey in faith. We surrender ourselves for the journey, and go with the train, though we are not of course free from all responsibility. We pay our fare; we do not smoke in non-smoking compartments, or in any other way wilfully annoy our fellow-travellers.

Of course, we can, if we like, object to the speed or slowness of the train, to the stations or the passengers or the guard, but it makes no difference. We are ourselves the chief sufferers from any such waste of power, while the train goes on. We cannot stop to clear up the line, tidy up a station we don't like or move the signals which do not appear to be in our favour, unless we are prepared to abandon our journey and let the train go without us.

Leaving trains, we can get outside and think of the vaster journey we each are making in the stream of life. We can go with it, to the goal we have pictured, or we can go along reluctantly and in protest, or we can go against the stream. Few of us want to go against it, but how few also are willing to surrender ourselves to it and so to become part of it?

Too many of us hold up the journey, and expend a great deal of energy merely tidying up the line, by opposing things we do not like. We emphasize all the things we think are wrong (or that we simply do not like) and we absorb tremendous energy trying to oppose, resist, alter, limit, and reform things and institutions and people.

With what result? In the end we find we have achieved little, and for

the real journey of life we have no resources left. We are unable to get on with the active side of living, with formation rather than reformation, with creation instead of control, with encouragement where it is needed rather than the most heroic opposition to all the things we believe to be evil.

PERHAPS I am a simpleton; but it seems to me that life can be very simple and that there is, after all, only one struggle, endless though it sometimes seems to be. That is the contest between good and evil.

We ought, of course, to be on the side of goodness. But what do we do for the side? I am sure many of the most sincere of us believe that we cannot let suffering go unopposed and unchecked, and that therefore we must tackle the things that cause suffering.

The simple question is: shall we expend our energies opposing that which is evil, or shall we throw them more abundantly into support of that which is good? Shall we, in other words, meet the forces of evil on their ground or on our own?

They desperately want us to go to theirs. It seems to me that if there is a Devil, he knows that wherever his agents raise their heads, many excellent people leave what they are doing, good as it may be, to rush to attack the evil they have seen. Which simply means that so many more are drawn away from the stream of good living.

The effect of the evil forces can therefore perhaps be measured primarily by the amount of energy and goodwill they so absorb, rather than by their own direct conquests. If evils were left alone and had to compete with a greater strength of goodness, they would be hastened to their inevitable doom. For as the blood is kept healthy and red, the toxins do not worry us and we keep

fit much more effectively than by any process of specifics directed against disease.

SO, while those who must will no doubt continue to expend over an ever-widening field their ever-diluted energy in combat with this, that, and the other evil thing, some of us must keep the stream of life moving towards the eventual triumph of righteousness. For that is the meaning of this glorious word, Integrity. It is also the true meaning of non-resistance: we just do not waste our energy in resisting; we try instead to use it all in living fully.

Let it be said at once however that to go with the stream in this way is a far different thing from going with the mob. A surrender to positive forces is not a surrender of individual personality or judgment to the lowest common level. It is a fuller and conscious use of personality seeking the highest level.

Distractions, disappointments, and temptations will come along, but why worry? It may be necessary to go out of your way, at times, with things you consider to be evil. To do this is very different from stopping in your tracks to combat or defeat the enemy.

It is, in fact, the only way which gives any hope of winning the enemy over to your own side, and getting him into the stream of life with you. This is what is needed. An evil attacked is an evil entrenched and defensive, but an evil won over is submerged by the power of goodness.

There really is such a power—the all-absorbing power of human patience and love—and it achieves so much more when we submit ourselves to it than can ever be done when we go back or step out to oppose, fight, repress, or control the things we fear or hate.

MANY of us, trying to achieve our ideal life, will find ourselves in strange company, and we often proceed to waste our efforts again in complaining that others are not living in the same pattern as ourselves.

Does it matter? Are their lives positive? That seems to be the main concern. If they are harmful to others they can be told about it. Mannerisms and eccentricities can be expressions of selfishness and lack of thought. But more usually we shall realize that they are not harmful, and they may represent personality and individuality, which are essential to any worth-while order of life.

It is better to be striving and alive, even if unusual, than to be stagnating in quiescent respectability, or wasting away in evil, or battering for ever against the ramparts in hopeless endeavour to amend one or other portion of human society while human beings themselves continue to rot.

So let our pacifism be a positive process. Programmes for the pacifist new order may be drawn up (if we can ever agree on the detail) but all will fail if the pacifists themselves are not responsible beings.

The basis of all our programmes must be that fellowship which is life; true and fully integrated life. Our personal responsibility is to see that we are ourselves part of it.

Integrity! That is the test.

Pacifists — and the "Policeman"

IN his admirable article "Peace—without the Policeman?" (PN, Apr. 23) John Middleton Murry exposed a truth which has long needed bold statement: that the pacifist conception of peace without the policeman is as much a political illusion as the non-pacifist plan for an international control without the surrender of national sovereignty.

The analogue in domestic society of this idealistic pacifist conception has hardly been attempted; and, indeed, it took centuries to establish a domestic policeman with the effective backing of a widely accepted social ethic. The suggestion, therefore, that this stage can be omitted in supra-national politics is completely unrealistic; it reflects the mistaken view that the establishment of international law depends largely on the redistribution of the control of military and technical resources.

In fact, it demands not only a far-reaching change in the psychological make-up of nations, but a revision of the whole political basis of domestic society; two developments which are inextricably interwoven. For the national State has been forged as an independent unit, commanding allegiance from its population, gaining cohesion from the hostility of other nations.

DOMESTIC CHANGES NEEDED

Mr. Murry has hinted at the necessary domestic changes in explaining his preoccupation with the task of creating "a cell of the civil society of peace which has no need of the policeman." A section from the official British commentary on the League of Nations Covenant indicates the scope of the psychological change which is required:—

DONALD PORT on the Prerequisites of International Law

"If the nations of the future are in the main selfish, grasping and warlike, no instrument or machinery will restrain them. It is only possible to establish an organization which may make peaceful co-operation easy, and hence customary, and to trust to the influence of custom to mould opinion."

Nations, I have said, are forged as independent units and gain cohesion from the hostility of other national groups. These factors are endemic in the idea of nationalism. For a collection of individuals surrender their independence to the national unit only in exchange for protection; and, in identifying themselves thus with the national group, they preclude the possibility of any other important allegiance.

The hostility or imagined hostility of other groups makes their dependence increase. Few groups can contemplate a future if the nation of which they are part is likely to be defeated or to disintegrate politically.

SOCIAL UNITY

But this is not an adequate statement of the impetus to nationalism. The development of an individual culture, the material comforts which accrue from the economic functions of the State, no less than the facing of common political problems, contribute to build up a social unity.

These practical considerations take precedence over a philosophy of nationalism, which only achieves currency as the ruling group finds it necessary to consolidate its power.

This is at first essential for the retention of national stability and subsequently is sought for its own sake.

It is then a natural step for the government to over-emphasize the danger from foreign Powers in order to centralize domestic authority.

Thus it is that international law is in antithesis to political nationalism. Thus it is that the politics of peace demand a reduction in the power of the national policeman—symbol of centralized control—and an increased recognition of the interdependence of national groupings.

The issue is not therefore simply the need to create an integrated domestic community, but this in conjunction with the establishment of a supra-national authority—whether temporal or spiritual.

Pacifists will not, it is true, be satisfied with an international law based on the ultimate sanction of force; but that will, at least, represent as great a step forward from the present international anarchy as was achieved in domestic politics by the change-over from the "hue and cry" method of securing retribution to the proper working of a national police force.

POLICELESS SOCIETY

Mr. Murry has, I repeat, stated the first task of the pacifist in indicating the need to create a domestic society in which the policeman is unnecessary. No-one who is concerned with the growth of international understanding can shrink that or the method implied: it is made explicit in the service work and the community experiments with which the Movement is concerned.

Equally, and as an indispensable complement to this first task, there is a need to foster a wider understanding of the interdependence of nations. This work has been undertaken to some extent in connection with the political issues of "Anti-Vansittartism," Indian Independence, Food Relief for Europe, and the principle of negotiation; it should be extended.

It must be said that any propaganda which pacifists may do on these important issues will gain substantially in significance if, in service work and community experiments in this country, it is backed by a practical concern for social problems and the recovery of freedom and personal initiative.

WORDS OF PEACE — 22

This You Can Do

AND then, as I sat there, another thought came to me; and in some form or other it remained with me ever since, all my life.

It was like this: You cannot, by willing it, alter the vast world outside you; you cannot, perhaps, cut the lash from one whip; you cannot stop the march of even one armed man going out to kill; you cannot, perhaps, strike the handcuff from one chained hand; you cannot even remake your own soul so that there shall be no tendency to evil in it; the great world rolls on and you cannot reshape it.

But this one thing only you can do—in that one small minute almost infinitesimal spot in the Universe where your will rules—there, where alone you are as God, strive to make what you hunger for real. No man can prevent you there. In your own heart strive to kill out all hate, all desire to see evil come to those who have injured you or another; what is weaker than yourself try to help; whatever is in pain or unjustly treated and cries out, say "I am here. I am little, weak, feeble, but I will do what I can for you." That is all you can do, but do it; it is not nothing.

And then this feeling came to me, a feeling it is not easy to put into words, but it was like this: You also are a part of the great Universe; what you strive for, something strives for; and nothing in the Universe is quite alone; you are moving on towards something.

In my native land I have seen the horrors of a great war; smoke has arisen from burning homesteads; women and children by thousands have been thrown into great camps to perish there; men whom I have known have been tied in chairs and executed for fighting against strangers in the land of their own birth. . . I have watched closely the great terrible world of public life, of politics, diplomacy, and international relations where, as under a great magnifying glass, the greed, the ambition, the cruelty and the falsehood of the individual soul are seen, in so hideously enlarged and wholly unrestrained a form, that it might be forgiven to one who cried out to the Powers behind life, "Is it not possible to put out a sponge and wipe humanity from the earth? . . ."

But in the course of the long years which have passed something else has happened. That which was for the young child only a vision which it could hardly, even to itself, translate, has, in the course of a long life's experience, become a hope, which I think the cool reason can find grounds to justify, and which a growing knowledge of human nature and human life endorses. Somewhere, some time, some place—even on earth.

Olive Schreiner,
"The Dawn of Civilisation,"
The Nation, Mar. 26, 1921.

DETERMINED C.O.

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F. S. Taieb, 57 High St.,
Hoddesdon, Herts.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

MACHINERY and MORALS

MR. Wellock would like to know the meaning of the words "to guide machines in a moral manner," with special reference to the increasing use of the conveyor belt and its effect upon (a) the worker and (b) the things produced.

Firstly, I see no inherent evil in mechanical principles or in their use relative to the activities of men when such usage is moral in trend, i.e., tending to a fuller life and in line with the teachings of Christ. It would seem to me that a conveyor belt can be used to lighten the burden of labour on human backs; it is no argument against it to point out that it can be and has been used to drive men beyond their normal capacity: that is what I mean by moral use of machines.

For the effect on the worker, I would suggest that Mr. Wellock reads a small booklet issued by H.M. Stationery Office entitled "The Machine and the Worker, a Study of Machine-Feeding Processes," price 9d., which points out the two main types of processes, namely that in which the machine is under the control of the operator, and that in which the operator is compelled to keep pace with the requirements of the machine. I wish I had space to quote the excellent short preface.

The latter use of the belt conveyor both Mr. Wellock and I would condemn, but for my part I can see no virtue in breaking my back, just for the sake of breaking it, if a conveyor belt can release me for the work more in keeping with the miraculous ability of human hands and brain: one may use a belt to feed these but not these wonders to feed a belt.

As to the effect on the product, it is again a matter of usage, for it is obvious that relief of fatigue will tend to improve the product.

This question of moral usage of machinery is absolutely bound up with our attitude to the personality of man, which I am sure both Mr. Wellock and myself agree on, and I am sure that it relates itself to the consideration of man as a threefold being, as stated by Steiner, with rights, cultural, and economic aspects, all of which must be considered on their own merits and balanced. At present we have, in general, allowed the economic to control the others to their detriment, and this is painfully obvious in our laws, our education, and our use of machines.

J. D. A. BOYD

9 The Old Drive,
Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock's dream of Merrie England will not do.

From ancient times, down through the Norman serfdom, the Black Death, the Peasants Revolt, and the Enclosure Acts, agriculture was a sweated industry, and its practitioners thoroughly despised by the gentry of the district. Witness the attitude of Jane Austen's Emma to a gentleman farmer of the district. The farm labourers would have been outside her notice at all. So much for the village as an "embodiment of democracy," for Jane Austen's books are generally acknowledged to be faithful records of her times.

What other glories are there in the old world Arcadia? "The peasants are the last stronghold of freedom... he can live when the rest of us must die." Peasants are usually die-hard conservatives. In a time of famine, with its accompanying pestilences, I doubt whether the peasant would live much longer than the rest of us. The point is that scientific knowledge, if properly applied, has made famines absolutely unnecessary, and the great task before us all today is to ensure this proper application. The industrial worker is often bewildered—granted—but chiefly because he leaves school at 14 and has no basis of factual knowledge to fortify him against the popular press. (Is the peace-time farm-labourer so enlightened, by the way?) Education and knowledge are the keys to the new world. I hope we shall seek some nobler ideal than the self-sufficient village—autarky on a small scale. The clock cannot be turned back. Turnips have roots, but people free in spirit have wings—wings over the world—wings for peace.

(Mrs.) KATHLEEN SPOONER

2nd Sun House,
Station Rd., Amersham.

Our correspondent begs more than one important question, but one is crucial, when she says: "Scientific knowledge, if properly applied, has made famine unnecessary." The application of "scientific" knowledge, as that phrase is generally used, has rather increased than diminished the danger of famine, by creating the colossal problem of soil-erosion in America, Africa, and Australia. When science is applied to solving that problem, it will probably discover that some such solution as Mr. Wellock's is required. To assume that famine belongs to the past is to live in a fool's paradise: see, for example, the description of the encroachment of the African desert in News Review, Apr. 29.—Ed. P.N.]

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

ENDING and MENDING

WHY did Sam Walsh not entitle his article "To Hell with the Prisons"? How exactly does he think prisons will be abolished? And what is he doing about it?

I ask these questions because the Howard League, like him, is more interested in ending the prisons than in mending them.

One way to abolish prisons is to empty them. But we can't just open the doors and let everybody rip. Everybody else would be angry. We must find other ways of dealing with the odd 50,000 human problems which we hide behind a twenty-foot wall for various periods, getting respite from the problem perhaps for a week, perhaps for ten years. Respite, not solution; for prison is an "escape." It is an escape, not only for the baffled magistrate, acting for a baffled community, but often also for the prisoner who can relax from the intolerable responsibility of ordering his own life to the irresponsibility of doing what he is told. Naturally he comes out less capable than he was before of tackling that responsibility.

The emptying process has made a start. In 1910 over 186,000 people went to prison; in 1938 the number was 50,000. In 1910 the daily average population was nearly 21,000. In 1938 it was 11,000. Clearly this does not mean that the country is twice or nearly four times as "good" as it was thirty years ago. It means a growing recognition of the futility of imprisonment. The reforms which have expressed this recognition are unsensational. The Criminal Justice Administration Act kept thousands out of prison by the simple and obvious means of requiring magistrates to give time to pay the fine. The development of the probation system keeps

an increasing number of people out of prison each year.

It may be said quite truly that we still send our really difficult propositions to prison. But prison has "lost face" in the last thirty years, and it has lost face largely because the little reforms have acted as a leaven in the minds of the public. The Criminal Justice Bill of 1938 (a war casualty) would have started several other channels for draining away the prison population—e.g. hostels for young people, mental treatment for the unbalanced and difficult. You may, if you can get an audience, shout "Down with Prisons." But you are more likely to discredit the prisons by making your fellow citizens understand the futilities, the barrenness and the cruelty of imprisonment. They are revealed in small things. I suspect that one "reform," the infiltration of the prisons by unofficial prison visitors and teachers in evening classes, has done as much as anything to enlighten the public about prisons and prisoners.

If you know that prisoners are being bullied, badly fed, neglected in illness or even that they are expected to wash themselves and their knives and forks in one tin and in cold water and dry them on one towel, you can't in decency ignore these things. But clamouring for small redresses is in fact one way of undermining the whole antiquated structure of Victorian prisons.

Sam Walsh is "against prisons," as Calvin Coolidge's preacher was "against sin." And very right, too. But sin and prisons, unlike the walls of Jericho, do not fall at the blast of the trumpet. The sappers working quietly and putting highly explosive knowledge into the minds of the citizens outside have made the fortress-prison totter. Not a suitable metaphor for Peace News, but never mind.

(Miss) CICEY M. CRAVEN,

Honorary Secretary,

Howard League for Penal Reform.

Peace and "Police"

Frederick Lohr (PN, May 7) over-looks the possibility that the international "policeman" may differ so greatly from the national policeman that the difference in degree would become a difference in kind.

The degree of violence involved in modern war is so great, and the good involved so minor and incidental, that the pacifist is not necessarily completely inconsistent in "drawing the line" at war. To equate war and government with "violence" and then to condemn them equally, is to use the kind of argument whereby prelates justified war by calling it "the use of force"—which Aldous Huxley effectively exposed in the early days of the PPU.

If the international "policeman" is to use the methods and apparatus of international war, he is misnamed. We can refuse to support him without being necessarily committed to an identical attitude toward government and the civil policeman, since the apparent analogy is based on nomenclature only. We need to remember that the PPU is primarily a body of people who renounce modern war, but are not pledged to renounce all degrees of coercion.

JOHN W. COWLING

The purpose of the policeman is to keep the peace. The purpose of the soldier is to wage war. It seems hardly reasonable to disapprove of both.

Is it supposed that crime would decrease, or not increase, without the policeman? If it is, why not a movement to abolish the police, seeing that they must be regarded either as a costly evil or an unnecessary expense? If it is not, why disapprove of the policeman?

The policeman is the representative—the arm—of the Law; without him the Law is obviously inoperative, indeed cannot be Law, for Law undeniably implies compulsory enforcement. Of what use is the magistrate or judge without the policeman? Is it imagined that criminals would submit to court judgments if there were no power or police to enforce them? To reject the policeman is, therefore, to reject law, which is the only present practical alternative to war, and if law is removed, anarchy prevails. War being anarchy, the pacifist, therefore, who rejects law—and the policeman—logically arrives at an embarrassing position.

To maintain that all crime is excusable due to bad conditions, and that simply remedying conditions will eliminate crime, is surely ignorance or obstinacy in face of every-day facts. Have we never heard of the rich robbing the poor, or the violent inexcusably attacking the peaceful? Granting that the majority are, as Bill Roberts affirms, peaceful law-abiding citizens, can this be a serious argument for dispensing with the police? What about the troublesome minority? Are the peaceful, law-abiding majority to be left unprotected at the "mercy" of a mischievous minority, who, if armed, will be more powerful than an unarmed majority? Of course, the police are not employed against the majority; they would be little use if they were. It is just because the majority are law-abiding, i.e., law (and police) supporting that the police are effective against the law-breaking minority.

Whatever the conditions, disputes will ever arise among men (as they do even among pacifists sometimes) and attacks made by aggressive people without any justification. The great pertinent question which has to be fairly faced and answered is, How are they to be settled? By War or Law? If the one alternative to war, namely Law, is to be rejected, then that which remains is hardly consistent with pacifism.

(Rev.) JOSEPH SHARMAN

19 Stotford Rd., E.13.

The Causes of War

Your correspondent, John Nibb, thinks that "economics and finance... do not necessarily touch international war"; he says that, although international trade has decreased, war has not lessened. But surely this fact indicates that shrinkage of markets leads to a fight for such markets as remain. The classic example is Japan. Excluded from almost all markets, she seized China, the nearest big market available.

As for Germany, admittedly its war membership is stimulated by strong national feeling, but it has been nourished also by economic grievances (real or imaginary) and economic ambitions. Hitler, with his "Nordic" gospel, owed much of his success to the economic distress of Germany in 1930-32. I suggest that Germany and Britain have been at war for decades, and that the "shooting war" is but a variation of the struggle which was economic in origin.

Is there a remedy? Would the Co-operative movement which has abated economic ills inside nations, be capable of extension to the international field? I urge readers, if they hope to avert a third world war, to study closely the economic chaos of the years 1919-39, and seek a means of avoidance of its recurrence. There must be, under God, some way out, but professional economists are baffled.

TOM SULLIVAN

22 Galwally Park, Belfast.

If I have understood his argument correctly, Mr. John Nibb recognizes the importance of economic conflicts in promoting war, but maintains that without the existence of the doctrine and sentiments of political nationalism, the creation and maintenance of unity among the individuals of a State would be impossible, and that hence wars would be impossible. But while education to correct narrow and selfish national prejudice would render innocuous one form of propaganda, so long as economic conflicts remain there are formidable appeals based upon moral and political ideals or on fear of other States in a competitive world which could effectively take the place of nationalist propaganda in creating sufficient unity for the purpose of warfare. Indeed many of the stated objective in the present war are not concerned with political nationalism, and in concentrating attention upon national patriotism Mr. John Nibb perhaps neglects the other bases of group solidarity, of which the history of civil wars affords evidence.

It cannot, of course, be claimed that economic reforms would eliminate international war, but only that they could greatly lessen the occasions for conflict and considerably increase the opportunities for co-operation. Warfare between nations might be made impracticable if all States were related to a central government in the way in which English counties are related to our central government. But any union or federation of existing States will remain an impossibility until economic reforms introduce justice and sanity into the relations between nations.

I would like to suggest that the main decisions at the Versailles Treaty which had the effect of weakening Germany were all based upon economic considerations, and that the autarky of the post-war world was a symptom of the economic conflicts and rivalries which formed the principal threat to peace.

R. SUMMERS

"There are still far too many 'conchie' and war slackers."—Lord Davies, at Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire (reported in D. Express, May 3).

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

* PPU HEADQUARTERS, *

Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Indian Freedom Campaign

TRAFALGAR SQUARE TOMORROW!

TOMORROW (Saturday) members of the PPU will have their chance to express their concern about the tragic state of affairs in India today. The movement has always identified itself with the Indians' demand for independence and, since the formation of the Indian Freedom Campaign last autumn, has given this attempt to arouse the public conscience its fullest support.

The demonstration to assert the right of the Indian peoples to independence, which will take place in Trafalgar Square tomorrow afternoon at 3.30, is the biggest single job of work in this field which the Campaign has yet undertaken, and its real success depends primarily upon the hundred-per-cent. support of members and sympathizers. A full PPU turnout would form the nucleus of the really big crowd that is wanted. Remember that Trafalgar Square looks empty unless it has at least 5,000 people in it, and a poorly attended demonstration may harm rather than help the demand for independence.

As the loud-speakers will be available, there will be no difficulty in hearing the speakers even on the very fringe of the crowd. The speakers list includes James Maxton, Ethel Mannin, Fenner Brockway, and W. G. Cove, as well as such PPU speakers as Sybil Morrison, Dorothy Evans, and Howard Whitten.

But perhaps the biggest single contribution which we of the PPU can make to the success of this demand for independence is to take part in the poster parade which will form up at 8 Endsleigh Gardens in readiness to move off at 2.30.

As many members will know, there is some doubt as to whether an attempt will be made to declare that such a parade is illegal under Defence Regulation 39E, which gives the Home Secretary power to ban political processions. In fact, of course, poster parades have been held since this regulation was brought into force, and we feel sure that all members will agree with us that this traditional liberty of the British subject has a right to be exercised at this time.

Recently the Government of India was informed that the imprisonment of 9,000 Congressmen, which took place last August, was illegal. Nevertheless they are still in the goals of India. Upon us in this country lies now the responsibility for seeing that this independence is granted. We, as citizens of the "mother country," are conniving in the continued holding down of India unless we are doing everything in our power to make our protest known.

In America, where no such moral compulsion arises, 23 pacifists were arrested on Indian Independence Day for picketing the British Consulate. We, who are among those responsible for the present state of affairs in India, have so far risked nothing.

Trafalgar Square and the poster parade will give us the chance to show that we too do believe in the things which we profess. Let our stand for Indian independence be made known now, and in no uncertain manner.

a pamphlet for study

PACIFIST TECHNIQUES

by Charles F. Titford

with an introduction

by Alex Wood

Price 6d. (post free 7d.)

The P.P.U. BOOKSHOP,
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

Armistice Campaign P.P.U. COMMITTEE APPOINTED

IN accordance with resolutions of the Annual General Meeting of the PPU, the National Council on Sunday appointed an Armistice Campaign Committee of 12. Its first meeting has been provisionally fixed for June 9, at 2 p.m.

In Birmingham the Armistice Campaign has started. There have been bills on the hoardings headed "Campaign for Armistice" advertising a meeting of the Rev. Patrick Figgis.

Patrick Figgis will speak on "Can Peace be Secured?" at three public meetings as follows: tomorrow (Sat.), 3 p.m. Co-operative Hall, 1494 Stratford Rd., Hall Green; 7 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Rookery Rd., Handsworth; Sun., 11 a.m. The Gables, Finch Rd., Handsworth.

The Birmingham Council of the PPU is also distributing handbills headed "Campaign for Armistice" announcing that James Hudson will speak on "Does Victory Mean Peace?" at a public meeting in the Midland Institute next Friday, at 7 p.m.

The Welwyn Garden City PPU Group, "believing that we ought to endeavour to create a public opinion preferring negotiation to war," resolved, on Sunday, "to devote its meetings and activity primarily, but not exclusively, to consideration of the best methods of achieving that object."

IN NEW ZEALAND TOO

Efforts to direct public opinion to the idea of an armistice are also being made on the other side of the world. Commenting on the recent by-election at Christchurch East, New Zealand, the April Bulletin of the New Zealand PPU says:

"The decision of the Peace Societies, to support a peace candidate was most abundantly justified.

Although the polling of votes was not the main purpose of the campaign, many of us were surprised and heartened by the result. After all, 114 votes for an immediate peace by negotiation is a far from negligible number, when one remembers the passions and prejudice of the times. Christchurch East is only one district of one city: at most we could not estimate more than 20 votes. The result shows there is a far bigger proportion of people who want immediate peace than just the members of peace societies.

"The campaign has sown a great deal of good seed..."

C.O. NEWS

As shortage of paper limits supplies, orders for The C.O.s Hansard should be sent at once to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, who have just published the 14th issue (dated April, 1943) at 6d. It contains the usual exhaustive reprints from parliamentary reports from June 10 1942 to May 4 1943.

From the same address is also obtainable the CBCO Bulletin for May (3d.) one of the most interesting features of which (in addition to the facts and figures) is a girl's own story of how, 17 months after volunteering, against her conscience, for the WAAF, she finally received her discharge.

MR. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, has informed Dr. H. B. Morgan, MP, that he will consider setting up an inquiry into allegations concerning medical service in prisons contained in the report published by the Prison Medical Reform Council.

Dr. Morgan, a Sponsor of the PMRC, announced this in the course of a speech at a conference on prison medical service held last week by the London Regional Board for COs.

At Richmond Police Court on May 17, John A. Horton, a member of the CBCO staff, was prosecuted for failing to comply with a condition of exemption requiring him to undertake land or Civil Defence work. He pleaded "Not Guilty," claiming that his concern for the wellbeing of all conscientious objectors, and his sense of vocation to work at the Central Board, formed a "reasonable excuse" as provided for in the Section under which he was prosecuted. He was, however, found guilty and sentenced to six months' hard labour.

Helena Gordon Sherlock, of Manchester, was prosecuted at Manchester Police Court on May 19 for a second refusal to attend for interview by a National Service Officer under the Compulsory Enrolment for Employment Order. She refused on principle to pay the imposed fine of £5 and is now in Strangeways prison serving the alternative sentence of 25 days' imprisonment.

On May 11, George Moore (former chairman, Coventry PPU) was sentenced to three months' hard labour for refusing to firewatch and three months for failing to register, the sentences to run concurrently. Dorothy Trevelyan (former secretary, Coventry PPU) was fined £10 for failing to register for firewatching, and Jack Trevelyan, PPU member, £25.

Since the report of the three cases appeared in the local paper, a non-pacifist clergyman, the Rev. G. H. K. Pedley, has had a letter printed protesting against the severity of the sentences and mentioning the amount of social work done by these three people.

MR. FOOT'S ARGUMENTS

"The condition of Belgian children is now so appalling that the Germans are using this fact as anti-British propaganda," writes Sylvia Thompson in a letter to the D. Telegraph, May 19.

"A dramatic move was the recent decoration of Antwerp station and the sending there of special trains from Germany prettily decorated, bringing freshly laundered, beaming German nurses to take back to Germany 700 sick, starving Belgian children. 'You see, reiterates the Nazi, 'we care for your children. The British are pitiless!'"

WHEN Sir Frank Sanderson asked in the House of Commons on May 19 whether the Ministry of Economic Warfare would permit dried milk and vitamins to go to children and mothers in Greece, France, Belgium, and Poland, he received a long reply full of evasions and ambiguities. But the reply at least made it clear that the Ministry has not changed its mind yet.

Mr. Dingle Foot said that, apart from what was already being done in Greece, the policy of His Majesty's Government remains as laid down by the Prime Minister on Aug. 20, 1940. He did not explain why, if relief elsewhere would be "exploited" by the enemy—whatever that may mean—it is not exploited in Greece.

As the Manchester Guardian pointed out long ago, these arguments are either worthless, in which case relief should be sent at least to Belgium, or they are so important that they point to the cessation of the work in Greece; and even the Ministry does not propose that.

Mr. Foot's other points were remarkable. He claimed that "no information has been received by His Majesty's Government to show that money, supplies, and shipping are now available for this purpose." In view of what M. Pierlot has publicly said on behalf of Belgium, this statement simply is not true.

Mr. Foot also said: "Nor does there exist in France, Belgium, or Poland any machinery of control which we could possibly accept as adequate." Of course not. But does he mean us to understand that such machinery could not be brought into being by the Red Cross as soon as agreement was in sight, just as was done in Greece? There was no machinery in existence there until there was something for the machinery to do.

Mr. Rhys Davies tried to recall the Parliamentary Secretary to the point by asking if there was any evidence that the Germans had seized foods allowed in. Mr. Foot escaped by an assertion that when the first emergency shipments were going to Greece last summer "the German and Italian occupying forces were laying their hands as hard as they could on Greek domestic produce."

A NEW OBJECTION

This, we believe, is the first time the fact has been mentioned by the Ministry of Economic Warfare in Parliament, although Mr. Foot has been answering similar questions almost every week for several months. Why have we not heard of it before? And what is the extent of the requisitioning? What moreover, did the Axis send in to Greece last year?

But this alleged pilfering took place before the safeguards covering domestic produce came into force and were not, at any rate, an infraction of the control agreements.

This unedifying discussion closed with a pompous peroration by Sir Archibald Southby, who appeared to be under the delusion that the suggestion to admit vitamins and dried milk to starving children was a proposal to call off the blockade.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this would seem to be that there is still much public education work to be done, and that even Members of Parliament might do well to study the facts a little more closely if they hope to corner the Ministry's extremely resourceful spokesman.

PETITION TO M.P.s

A period of work by the Coventry Famine Relief Council culminated in a deputation, headed by Mr. T. A. Twyman, chairman of the council, at the House of Commons, on May 19, to present a petition to the MPs for Coventry (Capt. W. F. Strickland) and neighbouring constituencies.

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: **MONDAY.** Please type copy separately from your letter.

ACCOMMODATION

CAN ANYONE SELL reliable caravan and/or horse or sell/rent caravan, hut, or cottage with large garden, orchard, or plot of land. Anywhere? Knight, Spring Lane, Olney. Glad of particulars.

EQUIPPED CARAVAN for two and child wanted 10 days to fortnight Aug. to Oct. Remote situation in good country preferred. Knight, Spring Lane, Olney, Bucks.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION required about last week Aug. for two ladies with three children (13, 12 and 1 year) 50-100 miles London. Box 893 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOUSE, BUNGALOW, or Flat required from August, between Harlow and Cambridge. State details and inclusive cost. Mallone, Harlow College, Essex.

TO LET. Unfurnished cottage in Welsh Hills; remote. £14 yearly. Letters only. Estate Agent, 34 Church St., Hereford.

WANTED TO RENT, by married C.O. doing hospital work N. London, small house or ground-floor flat with garden. Two children. Box 687 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED UNFURNISHED, detached cottage or bungalow, good garden, country district nr. Bristol. To rent or buy. Box 898 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 82 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE & WANTED

ELECTRIC HOTPLATE (second-hand "Revo"), in good condition. 220 v., 1.75 kw., 3-way switch (low, med., high); 8 in. dia., plate in vitreous-enamelled oval stand 15 ins. by 9 ins. by 4 ins., 50s. carriage paid. Rutherford, 23 Reedway, Highlands, Northampton.

LAMB RIBBONS. Finest fabric, pigments, processing; 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three, 18s. 6d. six. (Small portable special, 12-yards average, 3s. 6d., makes two ribbons). Name typewriters, colours. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

LAND & COMMUNITY

OWNER of compact freehold market garden 14 acres (Berks.), including living accommodation, 80 ft. green-house, buildings, and full equipment, all in good order, wishes to exchange for small general farm; cash adjustment. Any locality or reasonable proposition considered; principals only. Box 901 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PROPOSED pacifist, naturist, vegetarian community nr. London. Those interested write giving personal details to Box 900 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Wilts.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LITERATURE, &c.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION, the New Subject for the New Era. Send 2s. for three 64-page handbooks. The Order of the Great Companions, Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

OPUS—the individualist quarterly. No. 14 is just out. Wilfred Wellock, Denys Val Baker, Derek Stanford, Robin Atthill, Wrey Gardiner, John Bayliss, etc. 36 pages of stories, articles, poems, 10d. post free. Opus Press, Wood House, Cholesbury Rd., Wigginton, Tring, Herts.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

UNIVERSALIST PAMPHLETS. "Jesus and World Today," by Dr. MacGregor Reid. "Spiritual Leadership of Jesus," by Dr. Van Shaik. "They Kept the Faith," by Rev. Arthur Pencock. 1s. 2d. from Universalist Press, 57 Cavendish Rd., S.W.12.

MEETINGS, &c.

BIRMINGHAM Campaign for Armistice. Public meeting, Midland Institute, Fri., Jun. 4, 7 p.m. Speaker: James Hudson.

EDMONTON 6th A.G.M., Wed., Jun. 2, at 7.45 p.m. in Upper Room, Edmonton Independent Church, Knights Lane, N.9. Speaker John Barclay.

HAMPSTEAD Group. Alan Eden-Green and Derek Edwards will speak on Non-Violence. Wed., Jun. 2, 8 p.m., at 127 Fellows Rd., N.W.3.

MUST EUROPE STARVE? Public Meeting; speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Patrick Figgis; chairman: Rev. Guy E. Greenaway, from Burnt Oak; in St. Martin's Hall, Goodwyn Av., Mill Hill. Buses 240, 113, 251 to Broadway. On Thurs., Jun. 3, at 8 p.m. Questions invited.

NOTES ON THE U.S. TODAY. Public Lunch Hour address at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Tues., Jun. 1, at 1.20 p.m., by Dr. Margery Fry.

"PAX CHRISTI." Fri., Jun. 4, 7.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, New Barnet. Rev. Albert D. Belden, B.D. Lond., D.D. "A New Plan for the Church and War."

PERSONAL

BIRMINGHAM PACIFIST SERVICE needs Part-time Men (rescue) and Women (shelter feeding); should also be able type, make toys, or do club-work, etc.). Fellowship and Service. Write: "Whetstone," Somerset Rd., Birmingham 15.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp. Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

NON-COMBATANT CORPS. Group concerned post-war and immediate situation seeks contacts other companies. Box 902 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

HEYS FARM Guest House, W. Bradford in Ribblesdale, nr. Clitheroe, Yorks., requires House Worker (preferably able to cook for one day a week if required). 10 staff. Phone Chaburn 220 or write.

MARKET GARDENING and horticulture, couple, wife part time shop or nursery, man mechanically minded, able to drive. Scope for initiative. Morland, Nurseryman, Westbury.

MODERN LANGUAGE Master wanted immediately in secondary school near London. Apply Box 903 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Food Relief Campaign

The National Council of the PPU, approving the report of the Food Relief Campaign on Sunday, recalled that it was initiated by a unanimous resolution of Council in the autumn of 1941, and added:

"The Council recognizes that important results have been obtained by the Campaign in pressing the demand for relief to Greece which the Government conceded in 1942, in establishing friendly relations with exiles and officials from other countries, and with many men of good will in Great Britain.

"The Council regrets the failure of the Government to grant the requests of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Belgian Prime Minister for further very limited supplies for children especially, and wishes to urge all members of the Union to continue active campaigning in support of these proposals, as far as may be consistent with their other obligations and the general policy of the Union during the year as defined by the Council from time to time."

The petition (reported the Coventry E. Telegraph, May 20), signed by 4,300 Coventry citizens, urged the Government to allow a sufficient amount of powdered milk and vitamins to enter Greece and Belgium for distribution under Red Cross supervision to the children of these countries.

Captain Strickland, in accepting the petition, said he fully appreciated the motives of the committee in organizing the petition and that he would pass it on to the Minister of Economic Warfare. He pointed out, however, that he and his colleagues were deeply concerned with the question, but they were satisfied that the Government had reasons for refusing the necessary navicerts, although the Government were alive and sympathetic to public feeling in the matter.

* * *

A Welsh eight-page pamphlet "Y Newyn yn Ewrop" ("The Famine in Europe"), by Saunders Lewis, was published last week. It deals with conditions in France, Belgium, and Greece.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT of an Area Organizer. The Western Area Council P.P.U. invites applications for a temporary appointment for three months only commencing July. Duties will be to assist Area Council in development. Maximum salary £4 weekly plus expenses. Applications with references to reach Will Parkin, Fallowfield, Backwell Hill, Flax Bourton, nr. Bristol, before June 9.

WANTED MAN help with Jerseys, must be good milker and with mechanical aptitude with view to learning driving tractor. Live in comfortable farmhouse or unfurnished cottage available. Tobey, Middledown, Chivelstone, S. Devon.

WANTED. Young assistant for small Market Garden nr. Taunton (Somerset). Good home with full board, pleasant surroundings, and pocket money. Apply Box 897 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. (24) MARRIED, desires teaching post in progressive secondary school in country. Experienced; specialise Music and Carpentry; non-resident. Peter Lambert, The Croft, Combe Down, Bath.

C.O., 25 (BAPTIST), married, seeks work on mechanized arable farm, with cottage, any county. Experience tractor driving, thatching, hedge-laying; good C.W.A.E.C. reference. Available end of May. Box 899 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ENGINEER seeks repairs, small industrial machines; also turning, fitting, etc., and post-war mechanical propositions. Munitions barred. W. J. Clayfield, Box 894 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXP. CERT. Teacher, C.O., 26, male, free Sep., seeks change of post, pref. non-res. London. English, Geog., Games. Piano, drives.

POST WANTED end of June woman (50) pacifist, household management, plain cooking for professional or business man or woman (preferably with similar interests) or would caretake house and pets in owner's absence. Moderate salary if congenial interesting work. Box 892 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

HOLIDAYS. Small community, nr. moors, takes P.G.s, 30s. p.w. Mod. conv. Few vacancies June. St. Bridget, Ashburton, Devon.

WYE VALLEY. Guest house in own parkland of 150 acres. Homely atmosphere. Vegetarians and others catered for. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

MISCELLANEOUS

NATURE CURE INSTITUTE. Cancer (consumption), can be prevented, cured early stages, without operation. Katherine MacDonald, M.S.F., humanitarian pacifist; assistant, Robert Bridges, M.A., conscientious objector (now in jail). 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow. All troubles; rigid correspondence treatment; particulars, stamped, addressed envelope.